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dried armadillo skin is scraped with a large bean-like seed; in the same manner as I have seen the negroes of the West Indies scrape a roughened calabash with a bone. The dancers clasp each other over the shoulder, around the waist, or hook arms; both sexes taking part in the dancing, but not in the singing or drumming, these being the especial province of the men. The steps are usually about three forward and to one side, and then the same number backward. When arranged in a circle, this carries them gradually around the musicians. When in a straight line, they keep on the same spot. The songs are a sort of recitative, sometimes impromptu, sometimes of fixed words; the chorus a sort of "fol-de-rol," a series of meaningless syllables. These songs for dancing must not, however, be confounded with the sacred songs of the priests, of which I shall have occasion to make fuller mention in the proper place.

The dances are kept up nearly all, and sometimes all night at the funeral feast; the participants retiring from time to time and sleeping an hour or two when exhausted, and returning with renewed vigor to chicha drinking, eating, and dancing. It is particularly on these occasions, when the older people are too drunk, or too busy to keep strict watch, that the younger folks manage to evade their vigilance and ——. These eminently practical courtships almost invariably precede the asking of the father's consent by the would-be bridegroom.

After more than two weeks of this license and debauchery, during which three cows, about a dozen pigs, hundreds of bunches of plantains, several quintals of rice, and hundreds of gallons of chicha had been devoured, the *bi-ka-kru* or steward announced that the commissary had given out and the riot must come to an end. I was notified according to previous agreement and went at the time appointed. As distinguished guests, our party of four were shown to the best hammocks, where we were seated, and in a few minutes served with cups of chocolate. In a little while, all of the priests seated themselves on low benches, the leader in the middle. The lay chorus singers were ranged in a double line facing each other and below the priests. The fire was carefully carried from its place under the corpse and piled almost between the feet of the principal priest. All drank chocolate and the priests sounded their rattles. The leader began a low dirge-like song in the sacred jargon, which I was told described in detail the journey of the defunct to the other world. It told of the dangerous rivers he had to cross, where alligators lay in wait to devour him; of the great serpents who disputed his path; of the high hills he had to climb with weary steps; of the fearful precipices he must scale; of the beautiful birds with sweet songs, compared with which even the flute-like *silguero* was as a crow; of the gorgeous butterflies that lightened up the path like flying flowers, and finally of his safe arrival at the country of the great *Si-bu*, where he would have nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep, and enjoy himself.

The song was divided into stanzas, and the priests all followed the lead of their chief, the words being a series of set phrases, but in a language

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123 acquired the title of *Awa*. When asked by my brother professionals to exhibit my charms, I always gravely produced my little pocket compass, which, by its mysterious movements, never failed to impress them. I never could persuade the boldest to touch it.

262 Three kinds of fasts are observed. The first is only when ordered by the *U-se'-ka-ra* on great public occasions. This is general and simultaneous over all the country. Sufficient food is prepared beforehand to last for three days, the usual time fixed. During those three days, no fires are lighted; the food is served and eaten in silence; no unnecessary conversation is allowed; the people stay strictly inside their houses, or if they go out during day time, they carefully cover themselves from the light of the sun, believing that exposure to the sun's rays would "turn them black"; no salt or other condiment is used in the food; no chocolate is drunk, and even tobacco is forbidden. The second kind is similar, though less rigid than the first, and is voluntary; the same restrictions are observed with reference to fires and food, but the people may talk and go out, avoiding, however, carefully all chance of contact with *bu-ku-ru'*. The third is still more limited, and is the individual fast already referred to for cleansing from *bu-ku-ru'*.

474 The feasts are of two classes; the death feast already described, and
●574 re-unions for labor. In the latter case; when a person wants to do an extraordinary piece of work, like clearing a piece of forest for a plantation, he provides a suitable quantity of food, and especially of chicha. On the day appointed his neighbors unite early at his house, or at the spot designated, and work industriously until about noon. All then repair to the house, and, after a good round of chicha drinking, food is served, followed by more chicha. After a while dancing begins, and is kept up as long as the chicha holds out. Sometimes the work is continued for two or three days, but always ends early in the day, the afternoon and evening being devoted to eating and especially to drinking.

241 No labor can be accomplished without liberal allowances of chicha, and
[461 the man who is the most profuse in this respect is the best fellow. A
[273 man will sometimes undertake to make his own clearing, unassisted, but it is very slow work, and drags on at the rate of two or three hours' work a day, with many days of rest. The trees once cut down, the man will burn off the brush, assisted by his sons, or sons-in-law, if he has any, and then plants his crop; usually corn for making more chicha. After that it has to take care of itself. He goes out occasionally to hunt, fish, or sometimes to bring a bunch of plantains. When the corn is nearly ripe, the boys have to watch it to scare off the parrots and pigs. If there are no boys in the family, then all hands usually go and occupy a little shed in, or on the edge of the cornfield. They feast on the green and ripening corn until it is too hard to boil, and then collect what has been left to ripen.

462 The labor of the women is to bring plantains and water, and to cook and wash. They are never required to do work in the plantation, unless

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axes, machetes, cotton cloth, &c. They never travel alone; always two or more going in company. This is a very prudent measure, since accidents are liable to happen, like snake-bites, or a bad fall, and a person alone and disabled in these wilds, would be more than apt to die before he would be discovered. The preparations for a trip into the forest are simple, but require time. If there are no plantains to be found in the neighborhood to which they are going, a large supply is collected. They are skinned, boiled, and dried hard in the smoke of a slow fire. This is to diminish the weight. A sufficient supply of corn is ground and made into a paste, either with or without the admixture of ripe plantain, for chicha. This is done up in bundles of about a gallon and a half in bulk, carefully wrapped in large leaves and tied with strips, torn from the footstalk of the plantain leaf. At last, all being ready, every person loaded with all he or she can carry, they start out, the loads done up in as compact a bulk as possible and carried on the back, suspended from the forehead by a strip of *mastate*, or bark cloth. Each person also carries in the hand a staff, four or five feet long, made of some tough wood. For ordinary purposes, the entire trunk of certain slender palm trees is used. This makes a stick about as thick as an ordinary civilized walking stick, but very strong, and sufficiently elastic to yield a little without breaking. The chiefs and a few other persons of consequence, like the priests, usually carry a stick of the red wood described above. This is neither so strong nor so light as the palm stick, but it is a privilege of rank, and is preferred in consequence. If the party is going on a trading trip—while the stronger members carry the load of sarsaparilla or rubber, still there are always some, either women or boys, who carry the inevitable bundles of chicha paste. Even when going from one house to another visiting, or to a dance, the chicha is not forgotten, unless the distance is so short that they are not liable to become thirsty on the road. On arriving at a house, the party enters without a word, and each person seats himself where most convenient, but as near the door as possible. The owner of the house, or in his absence, his wife or the next most responsible person approaches the new arrivals and salutes with, "You have come;" "I have come;" "Are you well?" "I am well, how are you?" "I am well." If a particular friend, or a person of consequence, he is invited to seat himself in a hammock. The people of less importance are allowed to take care of themselves. In a few minutes the women of the house approach with calabashes or vessels made of folded leaves full of chicha. If chocolate is to be had, it is prepared at once, and offered in place of chicha. This is a delicate attention, only shown to friends or persons of consideration. Common folks must be content with chicha. Whether chocolate or chica, it is served at least three times, at very short intervals, and at last, when you cannot swallow any more, the polite thing is to say to the person offering it, "drink it yourself," an advice usually followed, and which stops the supply. If the people are particularly inclined to be hospitable, and are fortunate enough to be well supplied, it is not uncommon for the

484 [251] [482] [481] [554] 574 [431]

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574 visitor to be overwhelmed with little presents of food. I have been presented within half an hour, in one house, with five calabashes of chocolate, at least half-a-dozen quarts of chicha, a dozen or more ears of green corn, and a dozen ripe bananas. The little boys, with whom I made friends, fared sumptuously, for it wasn't polite for me to refuse anything.

342 The houses of the Bri-bris are usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar, to stop the leaks. There is but one aperture to the house, and this is a large, squarely cut door, left on one side. Over the door there is sometimes made a little shed, to keep the rain out. The interior is always very dark. Sometimes, among the Bri-bris, instead of building the house in a circular form, it is elongated and has a ridge-pole, but the ends are rounded, and the door is in one of the ends.

Formerly the Cabecar houses were built in the same style; but now most of them are mere sheds, sloping to one side only and open at the ends and in front. The most pretentious house I saw in Cabecar was a roof sloping to both sides from a ridge pole to the ground, but open at both ends. The Tiribi houses are simply a roof raised on short posts, sloping both ways from the ridge but open all around below. Mr. Lyon told me that formerly the Tiribis as well as the Cabecars had round houses like the Bri-bris, but that the present style is due only to carelessness. The tribes are dwindling so rapidly that they seem to have lost heart even in so important a thing as building comfortable houses; and are content to put up with any make-shift that will shelter them from the weather. The Bri-bri houses are not only better constructed but are much better furnished than those of their neighbors. Beds are placed around the house
352 in the space between the posts and the sloping sides. These are made by planting in the ground two sticks, forked at the upper ends; cross-sticks are laid on these, the other ends being lashed with vines to the sloping rafters. Over these two horizontal sticks are placed boards made of the outer shell of a species of palm; or wild cane is lashed close together. In front of the beds are slung hammocks, between the posts, or to the ends of horizontal sticks projecting a little beyond them. The fire is placed
354 opposite the door near the back side of the house. It is kept up by placing close together, the ends of three large logs which are pushed up as they burn off. Over the fire is a barbacue or frame, sufficiently high to let people pass under it. On it is placed food to keep it out of the way of the dogs, pigs, chickens, and ants. The smoke of the fire is sufficient protection from the latter

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" today. Here, various tribes, including the *Coto* were moved into the vicinity by the Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the *Quepos* Indians were brought into the area and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca* today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*, *Quepos*, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the *Boruca*.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the Indians today do not use this term, but call themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or *k·a*, meaning "within." Their town, however, they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent in the older documents of the Conquest and colonization, apparently coming into use around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have remained, isolated from their original territory, each group distrustful of the other. The *Boruca* distrust in particular their neighbors the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the Boruca community this isolation is evident. The women seldom visit each others' houses. As much as a year may pass without one going to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do, they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping and laughing, seated on their little four-footed benches.

ACCULTURATION

Bruncas, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose their own culture and personality. The slow acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86–87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[8] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[9] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

372 [177] it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta Talamanca.

251 [243] **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate shelter is not practised except in lower Chirripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash crop is developing. It must be remembered that the principal diet of these people consists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to preserve tubers for eating once they are picked. [415] Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or hung on rafters, occasionally in bark containers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes* during the months they are not in season. When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, however, [184] such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom practised. Here the people depend upon [262] bananas and plantains during the lean months which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the most esteemed beverage among the Talamancan peoples is chocolate. This is the drink cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths, *Theological Beliefs*) and the preferred drink given to the dead for their non-returnable journey. [796] In fact, all ceremonies of any consequence require chocolate. It is also the most [574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

HOUSES

342 [184] **House Types and Construction.** House types vary, depending upon the location. The orthodox Talamancan dwelling is large and round with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times 175 342 it seems to have been a communal clan dwelling called by the Spaniards a "palenque," whether or not there was a fence, housing up to three hundred people. The Spanish account furthermore reads:

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

[361] [74] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[75] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se congregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

HOUSES

342 has been a long contact with the United Fruit
[177] Company. The usual Company house was raised with a *corredor* encircling from a quarter to a half of the upper portion. The Bribri house is high off the ground and consequently dry, airy, and light. There is a large
[354] porch where the cooking is done on a raised hearth; where babies and children play without crawling in the mud or mingling with the
[574] pigs; and where people can sit and have social visits. The sleeping quarters are concentrated on one side and are separated by stilt palm walls. To make such a structure, the tree is cut into the length desired for the walls and the inside pulp is removed with a machete.
[824] Vines are employed for fastening the logs together (fig. 6, *c*). These houses are known to last for ten years. The roofs have a six-year duration.

In addition to this, there is a less elaborate house which is more often seen in the vicinity of the non-indigenous settlements. This type is also rectangular. It consists of a leaf roof,
[824] either of palm or *platanillo* (*Cruciferae* sp.), supported by wooden posts without walls. It occurs in various sizes from that suitable for a monogamous family to one capable of housing more than a single wife.

On the southern slope of the range, one sees a vestige of the circular dwelling, especially among the more conservative Cabécares, in an occasional rectangular house with one rounded side (fig. 7, *a*). The circular and communal house is rare in spite of the fact that it is not
[591] unusual for several families related matrilineally to inhabit the same building. The general custom here is for the son to take his bride to his father's house until he can afford one of his own. Mud plastering is frequently applied to the exterior walls as a protection
[177] against wind. This is a custom borrowed from the Chiricanos of Buenos Aires (fig. 7, *a–b*). Both rectangular wooden rod and cane houses with palm-leaf roofs (figs. 7, *c*; 8, *d*), as a rule
[824] the common stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.) known as *caarkə* in Cabécar, and plank houses with the same roofing or even aluminum sheeting are seen. Fences are used
[351] in Ujarrás around vegetable gardens. They are made of closely placed posts tied with vines. In Salitre, some barbed wire fences are seen in the vicinity of the school.

[P.68(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

* 539 825 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

RECREATION

517 521 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men [538] and women often tell theological or lay "histories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the [184] Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation 521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often, [184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to [888] as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally, 431 presents of a piece of game are made to a neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

● 574 484 [576] Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from one side of the range. He or rather they, as these people do not undertake a trip alone, pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

[***] *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

* 539 825 [821] warns when it is going to rain by howling in the morning and in the afternoon.

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(Bribri)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

● 574 484 [521] of food and drink will be offered them. Conversation, in this case, is confined almost entirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 224 226 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 252 [481] [533] [574] Women and young girls of the same family, particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rər*	*webĻa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bəmitsɛn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəŋ́* which is a very strong term.

476 574 273 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipo* (coyeo).

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
273 or in Cabécar *dí*[204]-*ʒo* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field,
[571] making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least sufficient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[535] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[533] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[184] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--Analyst]
[534]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
237 or cedar with one end covered with iguana
[381] skin and the other end open. The skin is fastened to the wood with a glue made from
[824] the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.69(B)--Analyst]

[192] [204] *dí* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

476
574 common and the accordions, guitars, and the
273 round drum or *caja* take the place of the
[184] aboriginal upright drum (*see* The Dance). The
[534] guests, who wear their best clothing (*see* Adornment), repay their host by giving their labor free until the project is completed. These affairs are noted for the excessive drinking.
[578] Few if any fights occur, however, and the over-intoxicated as a rule simply fall asleep guarded by his female companions or vice-versa, and the joint work of the men begins as usual the following day lasting until noon.

THE ARTS

The
533 majority of the dances and music consist of
535 the Chiricano *son*, *punta*, and the waltz. The
[534] accompaniment is formed by an accordion, guitar, or violin and the round drum.

535 **Dances.** There are many different dances, both in connection with ceremonies and for sheer pleasure. The Bribri in particular have the greatest number of secular dances which
[476] are performed at gatherings called *juntas* usually held to build a house, fell a clearing, or some such joint labor where friends come in to help. Many of the songs that accompany
[198] the dances are in a language not understandable to the singers. Some are sung in Térraba. There are two traditional dance methods: in a line or in a circle. The circle type is called *buLik-Lak*. If drums accompany the performers, they remain outside of the ring. Arms are raised horizontally and interlocked. The first movement consists of one step to the right side and a short one to the left with the body inclined slightly forward. The second movement starts in a similar fashion but the beat changes and the two steps are more marked, the second ending in a small jump or hop. Suddenly, the dancers go in the opposite direction and continue with the second movement only. The sideward hop necessarily makes the circle go forward and backward. In the *surbon*, a circle dance, the ring is formed first by men and then women put their heads between the arms of the men and all participate.

There are a number of line dances, for

[***] Gabb, 1875, p. 517.